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AUTHOR DeFleur, Lois B.; Gillman, David
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ABSTRACT

Attitudes, beliefs, and interactions of male and female cadets at the U.S. Air Force Academy during the first year of sex integration are discussed. Background for the integration process is given, including policy changes and implementation. A survey was undertaken of a match sample of men and women six months after the women entered the Academy. Some additional information was obtained from sample samples before and after the main survey. The focus of items was on daily activities, attitudes toward women in various roles, and reported interactions. Specific questions were about: squadron solidarity and pride; acceptance; understanding and fairness of officer supervision; attitudes toward women in general, admission of women to the academy, and women as military leaders; and informal interaction. Results show that women feel less accepted than males, and less understood, even though they felt supervisory officers were fair. Male students felt women didn't receive a fair share of assignments, but weren't sure that favoritism existed. They felt very uncomfortable with female cadets. Overall, after the early phases of integration cadet beliefs, attitudes, and interactions remained ambiguous and strongly oriented along traditional dimensions. Responses are presented in charts as appendices. (MSE)

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Cadet Beliefs, Attitudes and Interactions During the Early Phases of Sex-Integration

by

Lois B. DeFleur
Washington State University

and

David Gillman
US Air Force Academy

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It has been thirty years since an executive order abolished racial segregation in the Armed Forces and in that time there has been substantial progress toward the integration of minorities into service life. A large number of studies have documented the integration process, as well as individual adaptations, in various military settings (Moskos, 1973). Not all of these are in agreement concerning the success of racial integration. Until recently the military was in the forefront of equality in terms of traditional indicators of progress, i.e. pay and benefits. However, with the advent of the all-volunteer army, there have been disquieting reports concerning increasing numbers of minorities at lower levels, lack of advancement to higher ranks, and reports of low morale. While the Armed Forces were trying to meet these problems, another process began -- sex-integration.

Sex-integration poses somewhat different problems compared to integration of racial minorities. Male minorities were a part of the Armed Forces for years, and occupied similar but segregated positions. Women, in the past, have been only a small part of the military and were in limited numbers of positions (Goldman, 1973). In the late sixties the number of women gradually increased and they entered job classifications previously held by men. However, the proportion of military women is still relatively small (about 6%) but increasing. Many issues, such as the role of women in combat, remain to be solved. Perhaps one of the most significant events in sex-integration has been the opening of Service Academies to women. Again, the numbers of women involved are small, but it is an important step -- both symbolically and in terms of future roles. Even though academies produce only a small proportion of commissioned officers, they are the source of most career officers as well as "the elite" in the services (Radway, 1971). Academy graduates tend to have more long-term commitments; they are at the top officer levels, and retain important long-term friendship networks. For the first time, women will have access to these advantages.

Sex-integration has just begun at the academies. It will be a long, slow process involving both organizational and individual changes. There are a number of research efforts underway to monitor these changes, including a four-year longitudinal study of the first integrated class at the Air Force Academy.

The goals of the research at the Air Force Academy are diverse. We plan to monitor both the integration process and the adaptation of various groups at the Academy. Women have been at the Academy less than two years, so most of the present information focuses on the early phases of integration. In this paper we will discuss beliefs, attitudes, and interactions of male and female cadets during their first year together.

The Academy Setting:

The 157 women entering the Air Force Academy in June 1976 encountered an environment dominated by tradition and maleness. There was resistance to the mandated change of integration. Even though the Air Force Academy is the "youngest" of the service academies, it has followed the model of other academies. Officers and cadets place a high value on traditional aspects of academy life and resist changes -- particularly those they perceived as related to the integration of women (DeFleur, Gillman, Marshak, 1977). Implicit in all activities are male characteristics and standards.

Academies recruit from groups who support their traditions. Cadets entering this environment had prior experiences which oriented them toward traditional male activities and roles. A high proportion of male cadets (78.9%) were athletic leaders, 11.2% class presidents, and close to one-third came from families with long-term military affiliations. Females selected to become a part of the Academy shared some of the same characteristics in terms of athletic skills, leadership experiences, and academic scores, but these reflected traditional female sports and activities. Thus, because of the nature of

their past experiences, female cadets were both different from males and less prepared for academy activities -- particularly physically demanding ones.

When cadets arrive at the Academy they undergo extensive military training representing a transition from civilian to military life. This training is one of the important "rites of passage" that upperclass cadets see as essential to becoming a part of the cadet wing. Even though Basic Cadet Training has changed in the last few years the thrust of the program is still socialization for the male "warrior image" (Arkin and Dobrofsky, 1977). This training emphasizes traditional male attributes such as strength, toughness, aggression, courage, and discipline. These skills are taught by upperclass cadets and officers. Cadet training consists of marching, drills, physical conditioning, learning military living routines, and combat-oriented skills. For part of the time, cadets live in tents in an encampment and participate in weapons training, tactical operations, patrol, land navigation, and assault and obstacle courses.

As Service Academies were preparing to accept women, there was a great deal of concern whether this socialization would be changed in order to pave the way for women. The Air Force Academy took the position that there would be only slight adjustments in favor of women and that they would be expected to perform essentially all training activities. Arkin and Dobrofsky have pointed out the dilemma that occurs as a result of this resistance to change, "Because the Academies are reserved for epitomizing the warrior creed in training and education, both men and women are being socialized equally; that is, women are being trained not as different and equal to men but as similar and equal." The lack of change in programs coupled with distinct sex-linked cultural preparation posed a variety of dilemmas for both female cadets and their male cohorts.

After initial training, cadets started academic activities and more routine military life. In the past, cadet living areas have coincided with

military squadron assignments which are the center of most activities during the year. However, for a variety of reasons, it was decided that female cadets would be assigned to separate living and squadron areas apart from males. Thus, for the first six months of integration, female cadets were assigned to only 20 of the 40 cadet squadrons (with no more than five to ten females in each) and lived away from their squadrons. This policy was changed in January, 1977 and at that time female cadets were placed in all 40 squadrons. Most of the data in this paper were obtained before this change took place. One of the variables that we will use in our analysis is whether male cadets have been a part of the initially integrated or segregated squadrons.

Beliefs, Attitudes and Interactions:

Our investigation focuses on beliefs, attitudes, and interactions toward sex-roles and aspects of the sex-integration process at the Academy. We recognize that this attempt to investigate many of these variables is less than precise and that it may be misleading to make statements concerning interrelationships between them on the basis of this analysis. Our goal is primarily to describe some of the interpersonal dynamics that occurred in the early stages of the sex-integration process.

Beliefs and attitudes have been the focus of a great deal of social psychological research. Numerous studies have investigated the nature of these variables and in general they are viewed as forming a complex system of individual orientations toward objects. Statements of belief, positive and negative feelings and behavioral intentions concerning some situation, social issue or group are all parts of what is referred to as attitude (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975).

The formation of attitudes is usually viewed as a process during which individuals associate various attributes with other people, institutions,

events, etc. As this occurs, positive and negative orientations toward objects and situations form slowly over a long period of time. These attitudes and beliefs, then, form a volitional foundation that is assumed serves as a predisposition toward behavior.

The nature and measurement of attitudes, as well as the assumed links with behavior, have been widely debated and studies investigating these issues are extensive. While such work formed the underpinning for the present project, it was not designed to address these theoretical or methodological issues. Thus, we do not intend to unravel the determinants or iterrelationships between components of attitudes and beliefs. We are simply describing some of the salient beliefs and attitudes of participants in the sex-integration process. At the same time, cadets were interacting with members of the opposite sex in new ways so we explored one dimension of these behaviors -- informal interaction. Thus, we will describe the patterns of interaction between the sexes and explore broad linkages between these and cadet beliefs and attitudes.

Methodology:

Data for this paper were obtained from several sources. The major portion came from a questionnaire that was administered to a match sample of males and females from the first integrated class approximately six months after they arrived at the Academy. However, we also will refer to some information obtained from both earlier and later questionnaires and another smaller sample. Since the matched sample is the main focus, we will discuss it and the primary questionnaire. Most data reported in this paper were obtained from 300 cadets who entered the Academy in June 1976. Approximately 200 male cadets were matched to the total population of 157 female cadets using two criteria -- family military history and a composite academic score.

A variety of measures were used to probe beliefs, attitudes, and self-reported interactions of cadets. The focus was on beliefs concerning daily

activities, attitudes toward women in various roles and reported interactions with the same and opposite sex.

Some items in the questionnaire probed cadet beliefs concerning squadron life. For example, several questions focused on officer supervision. We asked if cadets believed that the officer was fair, understanding, and assigned details equally to both sexes. We also asked questions about squadron solidarity, pride and acceptance. Later in the year we asked cadets how comfortable they were in their interaction with males and females and the cadets they identified with. These questions were posed to explore beliefs and orientations concerning cadet life at the Academy.

A short form of the Spence-Helmreich Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence et. al., 1973) was administered. This is a Likert-type scale containing statements about various rights and roles for women. The items tap attitudes toward women's roles in areas such as work, education, sexual activity, dating and family behavior. The scores range from 0-75 with lower scores representing more traditional attitudes and higher scores more liberal viewpoints.

Two other short scales were constructed from factor analyses of a prior questionnaire (DeFleur, Gillman and Marshak, 1977). These focused on cadet attitudes toward admission of women to the Air Force Academy and women in military leadership and combat roles. The items in these scales were Likert-type items, but the scores run from traditional attitudes toward women in military roles (high) to non-traditional attitudes (low) which is inverse to the directionality of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale.

Other items in the questionnaire asked cadets to report their interactional patterns. The focus was on informal activities since these are the least subject to the impact of the military structure. These questions consisted of three different measures of informal interaction with male or female classmates: talking, associating, and best friends. These self-reported behaviors were

measured on a 0-7 scale representing percentage levels (0-100) of interactions. A series of questions was posed for both male and female interactions.

Other variables in the analyses are sex of respondent and their participation in segregated or integrated squadrons. As we indicated, prior to January 1977, males were assigned to squadrons that had either only male members or from 5-10 women. Results from the primary questionnaire, given to the matched sample, will be reported via series of bi-variate and multi-variate analyses. These will be used to try to understand some of the situations that characterized early months of integration at the U.S. Air Force Academy.

Beliefs About Squadron Life:

One major dimension of Academy life is military activity and training. For cadets, most of this takes place in squadrons. This is where cadets interact closely, supervise each other, and have an opportunity to form friendship ties. Squadron life is an area where it may be difficult for males and females to work out interactional patterns since males have not encountered females in these situations before. Squadrons are supervised by officers -- air officers commanding -- who serve as evaluators, supervisors, and role models.

We queried cadets concerning squadron solidarity and pride, as well as, their personal beliefs concerning acceptance and belonging. A second series of questions explored cadet beliefs about officer supervision of males and females. Specifically, we were interested in whether males and/or females believed that commanding officers were fair and assigned details equally to both sexes. Tables 1 and 2 report results for these beliefs.

On Table 1 there are means from questions concerning squadron solidarity and pride as well as cadet perceptions of acceptance and belonging. These are reported for females, and males who were participants in squadrons with or without females. The data indicate that all cadets believe there is solidarity and

cohesiveness in squadrons and they have a great deal of pride in them. This is one of the goals of early socialization and it appears that it has been successful. The only significant difference was that cadets in segregated squadrons believed there was more solidarity than the others.

Six months later, when all cadets had experienced squadron interaction with females, we repeated one of these questions -- belief about squadron solidarity. At that time there were no differences between male and female cadet means ($t=-1.12$ $p<.27$). We do not anticipate that beliefs concerning squadron solidarity and pride among males or females will diminish over the next several years.

Cadet beliefs concerning acceptance and being a part of squadrons, show that females do not believe they are as accepted. Their means are significantly different from male cadets. There are other areas where beliefs of males and females differ and these are shown on Table 2. These questions focused on quality of officer supervision in squadrons; whether favoritism was shown toward females and whether there was equality in assignment of squadron details. On all questions, there are differences in response patterns of females compared to integrated and segregated males. Chi-Square Tests indicate that these are not likely to occur by chance.

When we asked cadets about the understanding and fairness of officer supervision, most indicated that this was, in fact, the case. This was particularly true for males who were in squadrons without females. Female cadets believed that officer supervision was fair, but not understanding. It is important to note that all supervising officers were males. From other studies we know how important it is to have minorities in supervisory roles to act as role models and to aid in the development of a sense of identification (Moskos, 1973).

The distribution of responses on the question concerning beliefs about favoritism toward female cadets is not surprising. Almost all females indicate

they aren't receiving favoritism. Males weren't willing to point to favoritism but they did indicate considerable ambiguity concerning this situation as evidenced by the high proportion of "don't know" responses. Ambiguity was also evident in beliefs concerning equality of detail assignment. In both male samples few believed that females received equal assignments and two-thirds of those from segregated squadrons didn't know. This is in contrast to one-third of the females who thought they received equal assignments.

On a later questionnaire (May 1977) we included several questions that asked the extent to which males and females were comfortable around the same and opposite sex as cadets. Both males and females believed they were most comfortable around male cadets, (these comparisons were significant at .005) but males indicated they thought they were more comfortable. There were other differences in the extent to which the cadets believed they were comfortable around female cadets. Male cadets (compared to females) said they were much less comfortable around females ($t=3.13$ $p<.002$). The same patterning of responses occurred when we examined responses to questions about identification with other cadets. Both males and females identified with male cadets. However, primarily female cadets identified with females ($t=6.89$ $p<.0001$). All these responses point to belief ambiguity and sex-related differences among male and female cadets. In the next section we will examine cadet attitudes toward women in societal and military roles.

Cadet Attitudes Toward Women's Roles:

Attitudes that cadets endorsed when they first arrived at the Academy significantly differentiated male and female cadets. In addition, male cadets tended to have significantly more traditional attitudes toward female roles than males at civilian universities. This is in contrast to female cadets who were comparable to female civilians (DeFleur et. al., 1977). We are interested in these same attitudes at a later time in the sex-integration process.

Table 3 presents attitudinal data obtained from two separate cadet samples. The first and third columns list means of cadets as they began training. The next columns report data from the matched sample in December, 1976. The final columns on the table represent a further division of male cadets (from the matched sample) in terms of those who had been members of integrated or segregated squadrons. Comparisons were made between scores on three scales -- Attitudes Toward Women, Admission of Women to the Academy, and Women as Military Leaders.

The scores of female cadets were basically the same at entrance and at six months. This is true of their attitudes toward societal sex roles and women at the Academy. In contrast, their attitudes toward women in military combat and leadership roles became increasingly positive. Apparently as they became a part of military life, they see themselves as being able to move into leadership roles.

Male cadets in this class have changed their attitudes somewhat over the six-month period. Both their attitudes toward women's roles and women at the Academy have become significantly less positive. However, their attitude toward women in combat and leadership roles remained stable.

As previously mentioned, the structure of cadet military life was thought to be an important factor affecting beliefs, attitudes, and behavior. The last two columns on Table 3 show attitudinal differences between males in integrated compared to segregated squadrons. Although mean scores for segregated squadrons suggest more traditional attitudes than integrated squadrons; Scheffe Tests between them revealed no significant differences on two of the three measures. However, the most situation specific attitude (admission of women to the Air Force Academy) was significantly different in the two groups, with segregated squadron males subscribing to the most traditional attitudes.

What stands on this table is that at both points in time female attitudes were different than males. This is also true of male-female comparisons between integrated and segregated squadrons. All male and female scores were significantly different on all tests. The attitude gap that existed between the sexes when they came to the Academy is still present.

In the next section we will turn to an examination of the interactional patterns between males and females. Undoubtedly, these have been influen ed by cadet beliefs, attitudes and squadron structure. It will be difficult to access impact of each factors, but in a later section we will try to unravel part of this.

Informal Behavior Among Male and Female Cadets:

Not surprisingly, male and female cadets both agreed that males treat other male cadets differently than they treat female cadets, and correspondingly, that females treat other female cadets differently than they treat male cadets. To determine the extent of these differences informal behavior of cadets were examined. Presumably these are the least subject to military regulation. Questions concerning the percent of time spent informally talking and associating with female cadets and the percent of best friends who are female cadets were asked of both sexes.

We found that on all patterns of informal interaction, males and females differed significantly ($p<.001$). Males tended to informally talk, associate and choose their best friends primarily from among the male cadet population (approximately 85-90%). Correspondingly, females tended to talk, associate and choose their best friends from the female population (approximately 50-50%). The male interaction pattern with females is relatively close to the percentage of women in the first integrated class (10%). However, females do not interact with males in proportion to the size of the dominant group.

Interactional differences were the same across all three groups of cadets -- integrated females, integrated males and segregated males. As would be expected, males in segregated squadrons interacted significantly less with females and more with males ($p<.05$) than their peers in integrated squadrons. Thus, the dominant group definitely is maintaining many interactional boundaries between males and females. Female cadets, as a small minority in this setting, are tending to turn to other females for most of their interaction. As we pointed out, these behaviors are grounded in cadet attitude patterns so we will examine some of these relationships.

In an attempt to assess the extent to which the behavior of males was affected by their attitudes toward women, we controlled for squadron assignment (integrated or segregated). For the three dependent measures, male-female interactions (informally talk, associate, and choose female best friends), a set of analyses of covariance were performed over the three attitudinal measures (Factor 1, Factor 2, and Spence), with the structural measure (integrated/segregated squadron) being used as a covariate. For these analyses, male scores on attitudinal measures were divided into three categories (high, medium, and low) representing levels of traditional to liberal orientations toward women's roles. Category membership was determined by taking the mean of the male scores on each measure and adding or subtracting two-thirds of the measure's standard deviation, such that the high and low categories each contained approximately 25% of the total male cases and the middle category contained the remaining 50%. Table 4 summarizes these analyses.

Examining main effects by controlling for structural influences, we found some significant differences between the behavior of males who subscribed to different levels of traditional attitudes. Looking at Factor 1, there were highly significant differences over all three behavioral measures; talking

($p<.005$), associating ($p<.004$), and best friends ($p<.001$). For Factor 2, there were significant differences over two of the dependent measures; talking ($p<.003$) and best friends ($p<.047$). Examining Spence, we also found significant differences for two of the dependent measures associating ($p<.023$) and best friends ($p<.008$). It should be noted that the third dependent measure, choosing a female cadet as a best friend, consistently showed a significant relationship between levels of traditional attitudes and amount of interaction over all three attitudinal measures in both segregated and integrated conditions.

When examining the means, we found that on the most situation-specific attitude measure, Factor 1 (admission of women to AFA) an inverse linear pattern exists: the higher the traditional attitude, the lower the interaction. This points to a strong attitude-behavior consistency. Results on the two other less situation specific measures were not as consistent, but comparisons did show, like Factor 1, that male cadets in the high traditional attitude category generally had the least informal interaction with female cadets in all situations. In other words, when we controlled for opportunities that male cadets had to interact with females, their attitudes affected their behaviors.

Summary and Discussion:

Against a background of strong traditions including "traditional" male characteristics and standards, the sex-integration process began at the U.S. Air Force Academy. Young men and women came into this setting with similar yet different experiences. They were bright, competent leaders with athletic skills within the parameters of sex-linked high school experiences. Not surprisingly, we found that males entering the Academy subscribed to more traditional views of changing sex roles both compared to civilian college youth and female cadets.

The first integrated interactions occurred during the transition from civilian to military life -- Basic Cadet Training. This experience is regarded as an important "rite of passage" and tends to emphasize traditional male attributes such as strength, toughness, aggression and courage. Female cadets performed very well in these activities but did not live up to male expectations (DeFleur, Gilman, Marshak, 1977). After this training period, cadets began academic activities and moved into their cadet living and military squadron areas. However, for the first six months, males and females lived in separate areas and females were assigned to only one-half of the 40 squadrons. These initial experiences and conditions provide a foundation for cadet beliefs, attitudes and interactions that we investigated approximately six months after the first female cadets arrived at the Academy.

We asked about beliefs concerning squadron life and found that female cadets didn't believe they were as accepted as males nor that their supervisory officers were understanding -- even though they said he was fair. On the other hand, male cadets believed that females didn't receive their share of squadron assignments and weren't sure whether favoritism toward females existed or not. In addition, males said they were quite uncomfortable around female cadets. Most of these data point to sex-related differences in beliefs.

Both at entrance and six months later, male and female cadets also differed in their attitudes toward sex roles and women in military roles. This was true of all male samples. We tried to assess how these attitudes interfaced with informal interaction patterns between the sexes. As expected, males tended to talk, associate and chose best friends primarily from the male cadet population and the reverse was true for female cadets but not to the extent. To explore these patterns further we analyzed three variables together -- attitudes, interactions and squadron assignments. Through analyses of covariance we

controlled for the structural variable -- integrated or segregated squadrons. The results indicated that either traditional or liberal attitudes of male cadets influenced their interactional patterns.

These results point to some consistency between attitudes and self-reported behavior. The background literature on this issue is both extensive and complex (Liska, 1974; Warner and DeFleur, 1969). There are several factors that probably accounted for our findings. For example, we utilized multiple criteria of both attitudes and behavioral intentions. Fishbein and Ajzen maintain that this will increase attitude-behavior relationships significantly. We also used situation-specific measures. Liska (1974) and others have pointed out that predictability of behavior increases as attitudinal and behavioral increase in specificity. It will be recalled that we measured both general attitudes toward changing sex roles and specific attitudes toward women at the Air Force Academy. It was this latter attitude that consistently showed a relationship to specific cadet behavior.

Overall, we found that after the early phases of sex-integration cadet beliefs, attitudes and interactions are both ambiguous and strongly oriented along traditional sex-linked dimensions. This really is not surprising since studies of racial integration found that in itself social contact between dominant and minority groups is not sufficient to change attitudes and beliefs (Moskos, 1966). This contact must contain several characteristics that weren't met in Academy interaction -- e.g. mutual interdependencies, incongruent role behaviors vis-à-vis stereotypic ones, etc. Also studies indicated that no matter what type of military organization most close interaction was racially, or in this case, sex-exclusive.

We will monitor future cadet attitudes and interactions via by our longitudinal research project. However, it will be essential to examine both

organizational changes as well as individual ones and we will have to take into account the continuing sex-role changes in our society. Military organizations are both isolated from and intertwined with the American society and as other heavily male-dominated institutions change so will the military.

Table 1

Male and Female Beliefs
About Military Squadrons

Belief Questions	Female Cadets(N=134) $\bar{X}$	Male Cadets Integrated(N=64) $\bar{X}$	Male Cadets Segregated(N=88) $\bar{X}$
Solidarity or Cohesiveness	3.47	3.47	4.09*
Pride	1.84	1.89	1.93
Acceptance	2.14*	1.65	1.72
Belonging	2.49*	1.75	1.96

*$p < .05$ (F ratios were computed yielding significance at .001 level; then post hoc t-tests were used and these scores were significantly different from the other two row $\bar{X}$'s which did not differ from each other.)

Table 2

Male and Female Beliefs
About Quality of Officer Supervision

Questions	Females(N=134) %	Integrated Males(N=64) %	Segregated Males(N=88) %	Chi-Square test
Supervision is:				
Understanding and Fair	66.9	73.4	84.7	x^2=13.27
Understanding and Unfair	4.5	9.4	4.7	p<.039
Not Understanding but Fair	24.1	12.5	7.1	
Not Understanding nor Fair	4.5	4.7	3.5	
Favoritism Toward Females				
Yes	3.0	1.6	1.2	x^2=53.32
No	83.5	68.8	40.7	p<.0001
Don't Know	9.0	28.1	43.0	
No Opinion	4.5	1.6	15.1	
Equality of Details				
Equal Assignment	35.1	12.5	4.7	x^2=128.70
Males More	55.2	78.1	28.2	p<.0001
Females More	0.7	4.7	1.2	
Don't Know	9.0	4.7	65.9	

TABLE 3

MALE AND FEMALE CADETS' ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN'S ROLES AT ENTRANCE AND AFTER SIX MONTHS

Attitude Measures	Female Cadets[1]		Male Cadets		Male Cadets (six months)	
	Entering (N=42) $\bar{X}$	Six Months (N=119) $\bar{X}$	Entering (N=367) $\bar{X}$	Six Months (N=132) $\bar{X}$	Integrated (N=64) $\bar{X}$	Segregated (N=88) $\bar{X}$
F1: Admission of Women to AFA	-3.29	-3.08	-.44	.94*	.29	1.41**
F2: Women as Military Leaders	-1.90	-2.30*	.12	.30	.01	.51
Spence: Attitudes Toward Women	54.40	53.85	43.10	39.88*	40.08	39.73

[1] t-tests for independent samples were used and all male and female scores were significantly different ($p<.001$) on both entering and six month and integrated, segregated comparisons.

* $p<.05$ between attitudes at entrance and six months.

** $p<.05$ between attitudes in segregated and integrated squadrons.

Table 4

Analyses of Covariance for Male Interaction Patterns With Female Cadets by Integrated and Segregated Squadrons and Levels of Traditional Attitudes Towards Womens' Roles

Variable	Integrated Squadron Male $\bar{X}$'s			Segregated Squadron Male $\bar{X}$'s			Covariate: Integrated/Segregated Squadron	
	Traditional			Traditional			F	P
F1: Admission of Women to AFA	High	Med	Low	High	Med	Low		
Talk	2.15	2.58	2.69	1.79	2.09	2.36	5.62	.005
Associate	1.92	2.33	2.89	1.64	1.98	2.07	5.88	.004
Best Friends	1.54	1.88	2.35	1.11	1.27	1.71	8.87	.001
F2: Women as Military Leaders								
Talk	2.00	2.62	2.94	1.90	2.10	2.12	6.03	.003
Associate	2.00	2.66	2.65	1.87	1.85	2.00	1.43	.240
Best Friends	1.65	2.10	2.18	1.17	1.28	1.53	3.12	.047
Spence: Attitudes Toward Women								
Talk	2.20	2.69	2.56	1.93	2.17	2.00	2.77	.064
Associate	1.87	2.75	2.50	1.77	2.03	1.88	3.85	.023
Best Friends	1.47	2.25	2.00	1.12	1.37	1.38	5.06	.008

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